3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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The woman was then brought forward and received ten strokes, or fifty lashes. Her case, however, was different from that of the man, and she was not then set at liberty. By living with the man she signified her desire to marry, hence it was determined that a husband should be found for her. She was therefore placed under a guard of three officers for the night, while the officials set about to find a man who would consent to take her as his wife. She was thus held in custody until January eleventh. Meantime an old man living on the Rio Camarones was found who was willing to marry her. As a matter of fact, her relatives had tried to arrange the same marriage some months before, but as she was unwilling to marry the old man, the priest had refused on his last visit to the village in October, to perform the ceremony. When the boda ended on the afternoon of January tenth the woman was given into the custody of the chief's wife, being held in the chief's house until the following morning, when a commission of three officers called for her and delivered her to the old man who was supposedly destined to become her husband. As a matter of fact, she remained with him only a few days, when she and her paramour stole away to parts unknown.

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Second day. January ninth, 1909

A short service was held as usual in the church, followed by another ofrenda. This was marked by disorder in dividing the food, everyone grabbing for what he considered a proper share. This was in very bad taste, according to Cayapa etiquette, and was loudly condemned by the older men. This misbehavior was prob-

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known to one while living; however, there is one exception, this one being that one's /padéna?ápa/, the god-father of the wedding, who sees the newly arrived soul and calls its name. In heaven one is re-united with the god-father and not the father. This story indicates that the major relationship that is set up is between the bridal couple and the padrinos and not between compadres. The marriage padrinos tend to be of the same generation as the bridal couple, and the feeling is that it is best to select padrinos from within the kindred. Padrinos are always man and wife, so that if one wishes a particular individual to be his padrino, then his wife automatically becomes his madrina. If incest taboos did not apply before, they are now extended, and the children of all of the ritual-kin are forbidden to marry each other.

Except for remarriage, when it is permissible to choose new padrinos for the new marriage, it would appear that the ties of the marriage compadrazgo could not multiply "to meet the accelerated rate of change." I have the slightest suggestion of evidence that indicates that this may very well be happening. I was

marriage, and she accepted. Lorenzo claimed that he never consulted the girl's mother [her father was dead], as he was ashamed and afraid of her. Because Lorenzo's parents were dead, he moved into his mother-in-law's house. After several years the young couple was married by the Catholic priest in Punta Venado.

After the death of his first wife, Lorenzo lived in his mother-in-law's house for about five years. He stated that after his wife died, her mother told him that he was no longer her son-in-law. Thereafter, apparently she either did not prepare his food or did not do so properly. Lorenzo says that he did not argue with her but continued living there for five years, nevertheless!

One night Lorenzo attended a party given at the home of Antonio Largo. He saw his present wife there for the first time and was immediately attracted to her. While the men and women are somewhat separated at fiestas, the women serve the men guarapo [aigue], a fermented sugar cane drink, and at these times some conversation may be had. Lorenzo told her that he wanted her to come away with him "immediately."

and she agreed. Now, with a new wife, neither he nor his mother-in-law wanted to live under the same roof. Feelings of anger and/or disapproval on the part of parents and kin of the dead spouse to the remarriage of the surviving spouse are not uncommon among the Cayapa. There is some feeling that the death may have been caused by the survivor.

An interesting point emerges that is part of a general Cayapa theme: Lorenzo waited about five years before remarrying, and apparently the motivation lay not so much in his sexual needs, as in his appetite for food. His mother-in-law was not preparing his meals properly. It should be kept in mind that, by Cayapa standards, a man who is capable of /sipu tayahimu/, who can actually walk up to a woman and propose to her, is deserving of envy, awe, and admiration. This means that such a man is sexually forward and aggressive. Many, if not most, Cayapa men are very hesitant and uncertain about sex and marriage. While chastity is not particularly valued, men in their twenties who claim to have had no sexual intercourse are not uncommon. Women, on the other hand, lose their virginity much

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[See "to steal a woman" - ANALYST]

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Romulo appeals to a White official. Romulo lived with his wife and children, as well as with a dependent woman relative named Ines Cimarrón; this relative had been divorced by her husband because all of their children had died soon after birth. She had gone to live with Romulo and his wife immediately after the divorce. Some time later, a commission composed of two Negroes named Nikola Ayovi and Aurelio Caruso, and an Indian named Démian Largo, came up from Playa Grande at the request of Averticio Largo, a 'cousin' of Démian. Averticio was a widower [and so could only marry a widow or a divorcee], and he specifically asked the commission to bring Ines for him. The members of the commission had been given a few gallons of rum for this favor. Romulo, however, refused to give the woman up, claiming that he needed her to watch the house and children when he and his wife were out working, since they had no other relations. The Negroes replied that they would use force if need be. At this, Romulo went for his machete, but, as he was ill at the time, he could not fight effectively. The woman was removed, crying, from the

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of the would-be bridegroom notified Arellio who, in turn, sent Hardscrabble Cimarrón who is 'family' to the bridegroom to demand that the girl be delivered. Kalía also remonstrated with his mother. Finally, she stated that so long as the girl seemed to be pregnant, she would agree to the marriage.

Not only did the mother flout the authority of the /ʔaʔɬ/, it is very likely that if she had been strongly adamant, she would perhaps have been whipped, but she would have kept her daughter. The matter of marriage commissions is most intriguing. Clearly, this sort of match-making could not take place in a society in which there were strong corporate bodies, where family extensions were important. In a society so loosely structured as is the Cayuga, the marriage commissions could cove the countryside with a minimum of interference.

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Widows and Widowers. Mrs Beiser states that widows and widowers never remarry among the Cayuga (Beiser 1931:387). My studies among the Cayuga fail completely to substantiate Beiser's statement. In point of fact, most widows and widowers remarry, the only

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stipulation being that they may not marry a person who has never been married before. There is some feeling that an inexperienced youth should not marry an experienced woman. A widower may marry an unmarried girl if she has been in some way sexually delinquent. In this case, it is felt that she is a sinner and should not be foisted upon an innocent youth. In some instances, as in the following case, the youth is not at all adverse to the advances of a widow.

A widow marries a single youth. Augustín's mother had been widowed twice. This time she wanted to marry a young man who had never been married. She mentioned this several times to people, including her son. Augustín objected however, on the basis that this was not proper for a widow to do. Rather, he urged that she keep her eye out for a widower. Nevertheless, his mother clandestinely made love to the young man to whom she was attracted and became pregnant by him. She gave birth to a boy whom she immediately killed and then went to the ceremonial center of Punta Venado with her sister and buried the infant. During the next Easter fiesta at Punta Venado, Augustín advised the chief of

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this incident and asked that his mother be punished. Both the young man and the widow however, suspected that they would be punished, and did not go down to the fiesta. The /ʔuʔi/ sent up a commission composed of one Indian and two Negroes who were ordered to apprehend them. Augustín paid the Negroes twenty sucres each and bought a few bottles of rum for the Cayapa.

The couple were brought before Arcilio and punishment was set at ninety lashes each. In addition, the woman was fined fifteen sucres for burying the infant in Punta Venado and was advised by the /ʔuʔi/ to marry a widower. The young man claimed that the woman was to blame for the illicit relationship and that she was always after him and wanting to marry him. After the official punishment had been meted out, Augustín beat his mother. Several months later the youth ran away to the Río Esmeraldas area with this widow. They remained there for two years. After two or three children were born to them, they returned to the Río Cayapas. This couple was permitted to live together, but later the husband and all of the children died within a year.

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The Cayapa maintain that no supernatural sanctions

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were involved in the deaths of the man and his children. Jesus, they say, never punishes people while they are living, and the fact of having been punished on earth by a tribal official in no way mitigates one's punishment after death. The young man may have been killed by witchcraft, but the Cayapa aver that this is not supernatural punishment, and he probably "just died for whatever reason."

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When asked why widows could only marry widowers, the answer was invariably, "Jesus ordered it that way." According to my informant, the couple was permitted to return to the community because of the children. They were still considered to be living in sin, but they had been punished, and now the matter was in the hands of Jesus. The /kaʔu/ had applied the law as far as he could. He could do no more. In a way very similar to the cases of polygyny, to be discussed in the next chapter, an innovation had been introduced into the community--a new behavioral pattern was available for emulation! For the Cayapa, the realm of sin seems to be the most fruitful for cultural change.

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Divorce. Divorce is theoretically prohibited

wife did not like him, and after several years, she left, taking the children with her. Santiaguño was notified of the event by his brother while he was in the monte, working. He returned immediately and employed Juvelino Calazora, the Negro inspector of the village of Tamarindo to bring back his children. Juvelino was paid one hundred sucres for his work. He located the woman near Angelito Grande and removed the children. The woman cried bitterly and said that she wanted to return to her husband, but Santiaguño did not want her. He claimed that she had had lovers during the months that she had been gone. She denied this, but to no avail. Santiaguño did not mind losing his wife this way, because she was a nag "tenía y siempre chillando." She was later delivered to a man from the Punta Verde section. Santiaguño soon remarried, but the second wife died, and he then remarried a third time to the ex-wife of Antonio Blanco. Antonio had divorced his wife for being barren. "People said that it was not a nice thing to do, but no one demanded that he be punished."

Clearly the attitudes toward divorce had modified considerably, especially since Barrett's recording of the following case:

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